

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

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MR. MARKHAM'S HAPPY COOLIES IN PERU.

SOME of our readers may not know that something like the millennium is dawning upon our world, or at least upon one part of our world, viz., upon Peru. It is scarcely possible to conceive of more pleasant surroundings, of more considerate and indulgent masters, of a start in life more auspicious of all possible good, than may be enjoyed by a coolie in Peru—"in the glorious land of the children of the sun." "The landed proprietors of the coast and sierra of Peru are, as a class, most kindly and considerate employers of labour." "The negroes were a happy and contented race." "In these Peruvian haciendas one is aroused by the voices of girls and women, who all repair to the door of the chapel, and chant a hymn of praise upon their knees." "The days of work are varied by *festas*, and the people are *well fed* and *housed* within the spacious *galpones*." Is there not even one discordant note amidst their blissful harmony? Do "roses bloom" in Peru without thorns? "The Chinese labourer introduced a disturbing element. . . . But the state of things is gradually improving."

In spite of the atrocities committed by "planting adventurers merely seeking to

make money rapidly;" in spite of the extraordinary ingenuity which men, greedy of gain, exhibit in escaping or defying laws human and divine, the Peruvian Government have now succeeded in the repression of all the evils incident to the coolie trade by private contract, or by irresponsible agents. The labourer in Peru finds himself in a garden of Eden, with toil sufficient for health and profit, with plenty of good food and comfortable housing. The air is fine, the sky is bright, and at sunrise the sleeper is sweetly awakened by the voices of girls and women singing at the chapel door their morning hymn. Such are the statements of an eye-witness; of one who "travelled for hundreds of miles along the coast and over the Andes, *sojourning at the cotton, vine, and sugar estates in the different valleys*, and he gladly bears his testimony to what he saw," some three years ago.

So near perfection is this Peruvian paradise, that its spirit of goodwill towards all men, and especially towards labourers, animates the planters and employers, whose natural and just object it is to make money. "There is another class of proprietors and renters who have more recently acquired estates—such as Mr. Henry Meiggs, Mr. Reid, Mr. Swayne, and Don Antonio Ramos,—and they are also

upright and humane landowners as a rule." One of these far outstrips his "class" in liberality of wages, and in his desire to let the coolies share in the hope and enjoyment of gain. "Among the great employers of Chinese labourers in Peru, the name of Henry Meiggs may be specially mentioned. He pays many of his labourers largely in excess of the wages stipulated in contracts, as an incentive to peaceful industry and as a reward of it."

THE MILLENNIUM ALREADY DAWNS ON THE
HAPPY COOLIES.

"The Chinese Commissioners will find their compatriots in Peru in a far more contented and prosperous condition than has usually been represented, and it is understood that the Agent, who has already arrived, has actually received very favourable impressions. Many of the Chinese, who have served out the terms of their indentures, are engaged in business, or have become domestic servants, and there are even two prosperous firms in Lima, composed of Chinamen, who receive large consignments. There is a Chinese club, a Chinese theatre, and a Chinese benevolent society, in Lima and Callao: and altogether these people are making their way in the land of the Yncas, where their prospects are certainly better than in the British and French West Indian colonies. Nor are they ungrateful to the Peruvian authorities, under whose protection they have thriven. On the 2nd of last August a number of Chinamen, in the name of the numerous colony of their compatriots settled in Peru, presented an address to Don Manuel Pardo, the President of the Republic, on occasion of the completion of the second year of his term of office. They allude to the guarantees and equal rights which have been secured to them, and to the protection which they have received, and warmly express their gratitude to His Excellency's Government.

"This address of the Chinese emigrants in Peru is a sufficient reply to the misrepresentations of the Aborigines Protection Society, which have recently been published."

In England, the gratitude expressed in official addresses is often discounted by the reader, and it *may* be that the gratitude expressed in the above address was intended as a suggestive anticipation of future good.

Mr. Markham, we believe, visited Peru in 1873, and we should be able to see some progress under a Government more careful of immigrants than the British and the French.

Our readers for some years past have been accurately informed of the real state of the coolies in Peru—in this happy land—as described by correspondents writing from among the happy immigrants. We now give some trustworthy details of what

is at present going on in Peru. This witness writes, under date May, 1875:—

THE COOLIE DOES NOT ENJOY HIS PARADISE.

"You ask me to state the condition of the coolies at work on the Oroya railway. In consequence of the financial difficulties of the Peruvian Government, the contractor for that line has of late been compelled to almost suspend operations, and 1,400 Chinese were removed from the railway works, taken to Lima and sold to the firm of Dreyfuss, Brothers, the great Guano contractors and financial agents of the Peruvian Government. Mr. Derteano, a member of the firm and a Peruvian, placed 700 of them on a sugar estate of his, situate in the north, and the remaining 700 were removed to the guano island of Pabellon de Pica in order to work the deposits, that is to say, to load the ships lying there with guano for conveyance to Europe."

CONTRACTS NOT KEPT IN PARADISE.

"In every Chinese contract a special clause is inserted expressly prohibiting the coolies from working on guano islands, but the provision thus made for their protection is practically a dead letter. It is impossible for me to find language to pourtray the cruelties practised on coolies in this country."

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES IN PARADISE.

"It is anticipated that a Chinese Legation will be established in Lima, when Commissioners from China will inquire into the condition of their fellow-countrymen in Peru. I only hope something of this sort will be honestly done; but, unless the agents who undertake this business are well paid, and strong enough to resist the offers of money which will assuredly be made to them, I do not think their labours will be attended with satisfactory results. A line of steamers has been projected by Garcia, on behalf of the Peruvian Government, to run from Callao to China, the main object being the introduction of, it is said, free Chinese to Peru. The subsidy and privileges, however, offered by the authorities seem totally inadequate to the requirements of such a service, and therefore I do not think it can be carried out. At the present time, however, there is no money in Peru to meet the expenses of introducing Chinese under any circumstances; for in truth, in every direction, the country is in a hopeless state of financial embarrassment. A terrible commercial crisis is impending, which cannot be averted, and this, in combination with existing political difficulties, may lead to some horrible scenes of bloodshed before the close of the year."

THE "HOSPITAL" IN THE PERUVIAN PARADISE,
A MORIBUND ESTABLISHMENT.

"Nearly every employer of Chinese labourers in Peru has a private prison on the estate, also a large hospital. A visitor to a plantation where great numbers of Chinese are employed, can judge fairly well of their treatment if he

finds the prison and hospital nearly empty. On the other hand, a cruel master, by semi-starvation and the free use of the whip, irons, and a variety of other brutalities, reduces his labourers to the lowest condition, and the majority are placed in prison and hospital. The word 'hospital,' however, on a Peruvian estate, should not be confounded with institutions so named as found in most civilised countries; for the 'hospital' on the haciendas of this *enlightened* republic should be known as the moribund establishment, since, as a matter of fact, those who as invalids once enter its portals are never expected to leave it alive."

HOW THE HAPPY COOLIES GO TO THEIR DAILY WORK.

"Worse even than dumb beasts, they are driven from their '*lairs*' before daybreak by a '*cholo*,' that is, a free negro—a brutal fellow on horseback, who in all likelihood was formerly a slave, armed with a heavy whip. He arouses the coolies and drives them to work, following them much in the same way as the whipper-in does a pack of hounds."

THEIR GENEROUS FARE.

"The coolies startaway without any food, and about eleven or twelve in the day a cob of raw maize is given to each one, or, in some cases, nearly a pound of boiled rice. They are kept at work for the remainder of the day, and, after darkness has set in, they are permitted to return to their '*lairs*.' Before being finally dismissed, however, another cob of corn—for example, raw maize—is given to each one; and thus one day's toil follows another with no variation, and throughout the day the brutal black overseers are watching them, frequently ill-using their victims in the most dreadful way. With no other food they soon get weak and ill; then they are removed to the *hospital* to die."

THEIR DISCIPLINE.

"If a Chinaman in despair takes some of the sweet potatoes which may be growing on the estate, or something else, with the view to satisfy his hunger, he is punished by having irons placed on him, and also severely lashed. The ingenuity of the masters has been taxed in order to devise novel punishments, so as to inflict the greatest suffering upon those in their power. In some cases, the victims are fastened to heavy logs of wood, so fixed between the legs that, in moving, this block must be wholly lifted from the ground by a kind of hopping motion, like the jumping motion of a magpie. The various systems of punishment are calculated to break down the strongest, and the invariable result is *death*."

THE COOLIE WHO SURVIVES HIS TERM OF EIGHT YEARS MADE TO TAKE THE PLACE AND NAME OF THE DEAD, WITH THE CONIVANCE OF GOVERNMENT INSPECTORS.

"The Chinese are under contract for eight years. Many of those who outlive the first term are absorbed or re-entered upon the

estate in the following way, which is repeated over and over again to the same man—if he happens to live. In the official visits of inspectors to the estates those coolies who know that their time has expired, or about to expire, make a representation to be set free, and to be paid their wages. In reply they are told that their names are something different to what they had ever previously been called; and that as they only came upon the estate four, five, or six years ago, they have so many years longer to serve. The survivors in fact are given the names of those who die, and who, had they lived, would have had several years more to work before the expiration of the eight-year term. The inspectors, of course, have been given a sufficient sum of money, and they help to carry out the fraud. No one ever refers to coolies actually returning to China, for, as a matter of fact, they are all absorbed in Peru, mainly by death. Some few outlive their trials, and they have mostly established themselves in Lima and Callao."

MYSTERIOUS MANIA TO COMMIT SUICIDE IN PARADISE.

"Loss of life by suicide is a common occurrence. Thousands of coolies commit suicide on the various Guano Islands. In some places as many as ten or a dozen every morning find the opportunity of jumping from some high place into the sea, and thus terminate their sad existence. It is deplorable to think that human creatures should suffer so much at the hands of the brutal monsters. Murders of the greatest enormity are committed by those who mix in the most distinguished society in Peru."

AMERICAN SLAVERY OUTDONE.

"Slavery in the Southern States of America never equalled the brutalities which are daily practised in Peru. I observe living skeletons every day,—Chinamen who, having been reduced to the lowest stage of utility by their masters, were turned adrift on the community to die. They live a short time by begging, but soon fall under, and are no more seen. The people look upon mendicants, on certain days, with toleration, and many give to all that ask alms."

THIS NEW PARADISE IS ALSO LOST.

"In looking at the horrible question of the numbers of Chinese landed in Peru—the great mortality—and the present survivors, I cannot see how the condition of the survivors can be ameliorated. The majority of them, I impartially believe, will be *killed* in the same way as those who have already passed away. How any honest Englishman can be found to defend the system I cannot understand. As for Mr. Clements R. Markham's article in the '*Geographical Magazine*,' I never read a more shameful misrepresentation."

THE CHINESE IN PERU AND THE
BRITISH ENVOY IN PEKIN.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM HONGKONG.

"Do you know that a new convention has been concluded between Peru and China, specially approved of by the British Minister in Pekin? And that under this convention, China will send Consuls to Cuba and Peru, and sanction emigration to both countries, as long as the Consuls there report that the terms of the convention are being carried out? Also that there is a *rumour* that Mr. Wade contemplates authorising the British Consuls in the various open ports here, to superintend emigration to Peru and Cuba? Mind, I only hear it as a *rumour*. But if it were true, it would simply constitute British Consuls agents of a slave-trade nearly as bad as that of Eastern Africa."

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE
THE EARL OF DERBY,

I beg very respectfully to call your Lordship's attention to the enclosed extract of a letter, just received at the Anti-Slavery Office, from a person of high character in Hongkong—

The writer states that Peruvian emissaries are using extraordinary means to mislead and gain over the press in Hongkong, Shanghai, and Pekin. That their object is to induce a belief that a complete change has taken place in the condition of the coolie in Peru. Now the advices received from time to time by the Anti-Slavery Committee, including those by the very last mail, show that no such change has taken place. The present actual condition of a large proportion of the Chinese in Peru, continues to be one of the most grievous oppression. In all human probability this will continue without material change so long as the coolies do not land in Peru, as free men.

A free man possesses means of defending himself which cannot be successfully supplemented by treaties, or by artificial substitutes of any description.

But the immigrants are not free. The bonds under which they are introduced, pleasantly called contracts, are in reality halters round their necks.

The rumour that Mr. Wade contemplates authorising British Consuls in the open ports to superintend emigration from China to Peru is probably unfounded, but as such a course would, in the language of the writer of the letter, constitute them agents of a slave-trade, it would be a great satis-

faction to know from your Lordship that there is no truth in the report.

I am,
With the most sincere esteem
and respects,
JOSEPH COOPER.
Essex Hall, Walthamstow.
July 12th, 1875.

(Copy.)

Foreign Office,
July 19th, 1875.

SIR,—I am directed by the Earl of Derby to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th instant, together with its enclosure, on the subject of the Coolie Traffic; and I am to state to you, in reply, that there is no truth in the report that Her Majesty's Consuls in China have been authorised to act as agents for emigration from China to Peru.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient humble
Servant,
(Signed) TENTERDEN.

WARNING CHINESE COOLIES
AGAINST EMIGRATION TO PERU.

THE Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, having received reliable information of the atrocities still inflicted upon the Chinese coolies in Peru, resolved in the spring of the year to circulate in the ports of China, a warning against emigration to Peru. It is well known that a new and more systematic effort is now being made by the Peruvian Government to induce great numbers of coolies in China to *go, as free labourers*, to Peru. A line of steamers is to be specially engaged in the service. There is, of course, no objection to *free emigration*, and the *laws* in Peru profess to give to the coolies all the liberty and protection they can desire. The misfortune is these laws are *utterly inoperative*. Wrongs are daily endured by the deceived emigrant, as may be seen from the communications of an eye-witness quoted in the first article of this *Reporter*. The Peruvian Government is financially helpless, and a terrible commercial crisis is confidently expected ere the close of this year. Meanwhile the laws are inoperative, and the cruelties and sufferings continue. The Committee happily secured the co-operation of an eminent scholar and linguist, who has, at their request, caused some 10,000 copies, in Chinese, to be distributed in placard form, at various seaports, while the address has also been inserted as an advertisement in several native papers. It

is hoped this warning will save many a coolie from torture and ruin, and induce the Chinese Government to take effective action on behalf of its wretched subjects still surviving in Peru.

The following is the translation :—

“ Men of China,—After the Macao Coolie-Trade was stopped, the Peruvian labour seekers were anxious to obtain coolies from other parts of China. They generally promised high wages and many advantages, but sadly failed in meeting their engagements, and your best friends earnestly dissuade you from listening to any advice to proceed to Peru.

“ On the voyage from China the sufferings of the people on board ship, were always great. They were treated as slaves. Many endured the greatest outrages, and as a result found their grave in the sea.

“ When the coolies arrived in Peru they were allotted out for a number of years to contractors, to whom they were parcelled out as cattle. They were placed under taskmasters, who were armed with heavy whips which they used with great barbarity.

“ The coolies were generally badly housed, badly fed, badly clothed, and badly paid. They were cheated and ill-treated in every possible way. Large numbers were disabled for life through bodily injuries inflicted, and multitudes committed suicide to escape from misery.

“ In Peru there is no justice for coolies who may suffer from ill-treatment. The administration of law is a practical and grievous failure.

“ Many of the coolies in Peru appealed for help and deliverance to the Emperor in China, but in vain. They were left to suffer in the iron grasp of oppression without any hope of escape.

“ The undersigned, who have always been anxious to promote the welfare of their fellow-men, urge you to follow industrial pursuits in your own country, and save yourselves from those evils which have overtaken so many of your countrymen in Peru.

“ We are, your Friends,

“ On behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

(Signed) “ JOSEPH COOPER, } Hon.
 EDMUND STURGE, } Secs.
 ROBERT ALSOP, }
 BENJ. MILLARD, *Secretary.*”

PROBABLE TRANSFER OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIAN EMI- GRATION AGENCY FROM CAN- TON TO SWATOW OR AMOY.

(From the *Overland China Mail*.)

COOLIE EMIGRATION.

THE resolution arrived at by the Colonial Office authorities, to definitively close the British West Indian Emigration Agency at Canton, will probably result in an important change as regards the source whence free labourers will hereafter be

drawn for our West Indian and other colonies. It was found that, so long as Canton was the headquarters of the Agency, the difficulty of procuring thoroughly suitable men was very great. The city itself, with all its teeming population, furnished none of the class wanted. Coolies, in the ordinary sense of the terms—i.e. labourers who could carry heavy weights, drag timber, or dig trenches—could be got in abundance. But the agricultural labourer, who alone formed a useful addition to the communities the Agency was founded to supply, had to be brought from the interior at considerable expense and trouble. Nor was the desire to emigrate from Canton, whither new and horrible details of the now extinct trade to Spanish America were carried by every junk, at any time very strong. Acting, therefore, on the advice of the Agent, that the office should either be closed altogether, or that at least some more favourable centre of operation should be selected, the Colonial Office instructed the Chief Superintendent of Emigration at Calcutta—Mr. Firth—to visit Hongkong and Shanghai, and report as to what he deemed the best course to pursue. We understand that his opinion is adverse to the re-establishment of an agency at either Hongkong, or Canton. He has ascertained that free labourers of the class wanted can readily be obtained at Swatow and Amoy, and recommends that any future drafts be obtained from those ports. He is also of opinion that the service could be satisfactorily worked through mercantile agencies. In this latter regard we cannot agree with him for reasons patent enough to any one who is acquainted with the past history of the coolie trade, and the overwhelmingly strong temptations to any one who is paid by head-money, instead of receiving a salary, and totally independent of the number of coolies embarked, to become in course of time either careless or positively corrupt. There would be no objection to giving the British Consuls at these ports the full powers of agents—in fact, they act as superintendents now—and paying them a fixed yearly sum for their services. But we strongly contend that the ultimate authority as regards emigration at any port should be entirely free from any influences depending upon the number of men he embarks.

SLAVERY IN CUBA.

DEPUTATION TO LORD DERBY.

ON Tuesday, the 1st of June, a deputation from the Anti-Slavery Society waited upon the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) at

the Foreign Office in Downing Street, for the purpose of presenting to his Lordship a Memorial relating to the affairs of Cuba. The deputation, which was introduced by Sir John Kennaway, Bart., M.P., consisted of the following gentlemen: Sir Thomas Bazley, M.P., Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., Hon. A. Kinnaird, M.P., Mr. John Corbet, M.P., the Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M.P., Mr. J. W. Pease, M.P., Sir C. Wingfield, Mr. Thomas Pease, Mr. Edmund Sturge, Mr. W. Allen, the Rev. J. O. Whitehouse, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr. R. Alsop, Mr. Stafford Allen, Mr. F. W. Chesson, the Rev. A. Buzacott, B.A., and others.

Sir JOHN KENNAWAY, M.P., introduced the Deputation, and the Rev. J. O. WHITEHOUSE, Secretary, *pro tem.*, read and presented the following address:—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF DERBY, HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

SIR,—The Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society have at various times, by memorial and otherwise, submitted to Her Majesty's Government their views respecting the claims of England upon Spain in reference to the slave-trade and slavery in Cuba.

On two occasions during the past five years they, in interviews with Her Majesty's Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, have availed themselves of the opportunities afforded to them of urging upon the Government the necessity of using its influence with Spain to secure the emancipation of the Slaves in Cuba.

In June, 1870, a deputation, with this object in view, waited on the late Earl of Clarendon. His Lordship, in reply, urged the inability of the Spanish Government then to deal with the question, because, on the one hand, of the unsettled condition of home affairs, and, on the other, of the state of bloodshed and revolution in Cuba. At the same time, his Lordship—whose long residence in Spain, and accurate knowledge of its affairs, gave great authority to his words—stated emphatically that the Spanish Government had made no progress in putting down the insurrection, and at that moment had not the power to establish peace and order.

In January, 1872, an influential deputation, with the same object, waited on Earl Granville. In his reply, Earl Granville, while recognising that England had treaty claims on Spain, stated that the English Government was ready to act on suitable occasions, but that in the present strife between Spain and her colonies he felt that it was a very delicate matter to interfere.

At this interview with Earl Granville, extracts were read from the correspondence of Mr. Hamilton Fish, the United States Secretary of State, addressed to General Sickles, the representative of that Government in Madrid; in which, in a despatch dated June 29th, 1869, General Sickles is directed by the President to offer to the Cabinet at Madrid the good offices of the United States, for the purpose of bringing to a close the civil war ravaging the island of Cuba, on the following among other bases of settlement, viz., the abolition of slavery in the island.

To a similar and more recent utterance by the United States Government the Committee take the liberty to refer. In instructions given by Mr. Fish to Mr. Cushing, on his entering on the position of representative of that Government at Madrid, Mr. Fish, on February 6th, 1874, writes: "While the attention of this Government is fixed on Cuba, in the interest of humanity, by the horrors of civil war prevailing there, we cannot forbear to reflect that the existence of slave-labour in Cuba, and its influence over the feelings and interests of the peninsular Spaniards, lie at the foundation of all the calamities which now afflict the island.

"The President has not been without hope that all these questions might be settled by the spontaneous act of Spain herself, she being more deeply interested in that settlement than all the rest of the world. It seemed for a while that such a solution was at hand during the time when the Government of Spain was administered by one of the greatest and wisest of the statesmen of that country, or indeed of Europe—President Castelar. Before attaining power, he had announced a line of policy applicable to Cuba, which, though falling short of the concession of absolute independence, yet was of a nature to command the approbation of the United States. 'Let us,' he declared on a memorable occasion, 'let us reduce to formulas our policy in America. First, the *immediate abolition of slavery*. Secondly, autonomy of the islands of Puerto Rico and Cuba, which shall have a parliamentary assembly of their own, their own administration, their own Government, and a federal tie to unite them with Spain, as Canada is united with England, in order that we may found the liberty of those States, and at the same time conserve the national integrity. I desire that the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico shall be our sisters, and I do not desire that they shall be transatlantic Polands.'

"I repeat," continues Mr. Fish, "that to such a line of policy as this, especially as it relates to Cuba, the United

States would make no objection—nay, they could accord to it hearty co-operation and support, as the next best thing to the absolute independence of Cuba.

“Of course, the United States would prefer to see all that remains of Colonial America pass from that condition to the condition of absolute independence of Europe.

“But we might well accept such a solution of present questions as, while terminating the cruel war which now desolates the island and disturbs our political intercourse, should primarily and at the outset abolish the iniquitous institution of slavery, and, in the second place, should place Cuba practically in the possession of herself by means of political institutions of self-government, and enable her while nominally subject to Spain, yet to cease to be the victim of Spanish colonial interests and to be capable of direct and immediate relations of interests and intercourse with the other States of America.”

The Committee, reviewing the history of Cuba for the past half-century, during which Spain has systematically neglected treaty-obligations, and looking upon the present position of affairs both in Spain and in Cuba, feel it to be their duty to urge upon the consideration of your Lordship the necessity of Her Majesty’s Government taking some decisive steps towards bringing about a termination of the civil war in Cuba which shall be equitable to all concerned.

From domestic disturbance and the home demands for all available strength, Spain is less capable than ever of coping with the insurrection in Cuba, while, on the other hand, the Committee learn that the insurgents are gaining ground and have now made their way far into the West of the island, and that numerous plantations in that district have been destroyed.

Thus it appears that the civil war in Cuba is fast culminating to a successful issue on the side of the insurgents in effecting the independence of the island, and, unless averted by a friendly and timely interposition, it seems inevitable that that success will be achieved at the cost of a further fearful slaughter and of a vast destruction of the invested capital of the island.

It was such a destruction of plantations and machinery and, worse than these, of all habits of regular industry, which was entailed upon St. Domingo at the beginning of the present century. The deadly and protracted strife which ensued on the attempt of Bonaparte to re-subjugate that liberated, but still flourishing colony, then doomed it for ages to its present commercial extinction.

Under these circumstances, having re-

gard to the high position which Great Britain has long held as the promoter of justice, liberty and philanthropy, and in the interests of peace and human right and of a true amity towards Spain, the Committee respectfully and most earnestly press upon your Lordship’s consideration the question of offering to the Government of Spain the friendly mediation of Her Majesty’s Government, in order to avert the dire results of the final struggle, which events are rapidly hastening on, and to secure for the enslaved in Cuba that which England has long and justly claimed at the hands of Spain—the entire abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in that island.

In conclusion, the Committee would add that if your Lordship should ask them to indicate on what basis it be possible to enter upon such an interposition, they can hardly do better than refer to the arrangement proposed by Señor Castelar, which appears to have met with an official acceptance on the part of the United States, as is shown in the quotation from Mr. Fish’s letter which is given above.

On behalf of the Anti-Slavery Committee,

We are,

Yours most respectfully,

JOSEPH COOPER,
EDMUND STURGE,
ROBERT ALSOP,
} Secs.

J. O. WHITEHOUSE, Sec. *pro tem.*
27, New Broad Street, E.C.,
June 1st, 1875.

The Hon. EVELYN ASHLEY, M.P., said: I would venture to point out to your Lordship that, as it appears to me, the present moment is in many respects wonderfully adapted for interference on the part of England on the old lines of the anti-slavery policy. In the first place it is clear that in Spain there is a very large and growing anti-slavery party, which might perhaps get into bad odour in their own country by any adherence to expressions used in a House of Commons debate, but who would receive no damage from any diplomatic strengthening of their views offered by Her Majesty’s Government. In the next place, you have a state of things in Cuba which it is perfectly clear the present Government cannot cope with on its present lines. I see that, in one of the papers laid before the House, Consul Crawford expresses his opinion that the insurrection will never come to an end in the way in which it is now going on. In the last place, the United States have long ceased to desire the annexation of Cuba, so that I think we may take it for granted that if we asked the assistance of the United States in an attempt to put an end to the insurrection on the basis of emancipation, we should obtain

it. We do not desire to see Cuba annexed to the United States, and they, on the other hand, would not object to a settlement which would involve a quasi-independent government of the island. I speak from personal knowledge of Cuba, having travelled in the island some years ago. I do not believe that matters are better there now than they were at the time of which I speak, and it is my firm conviction that a more atrocious system of slavery never existed anywhere than is to be found in Cuba at this moment. And when we remember that this state of things exists in defiance of all treaty obligations, and is carried on in defiance of all good and honest public policy on the part of Spain, I think we are justified in urging upon your Lordship that the present moment is not inopportune for taking some steps in order to put an end to a most deplorable state of things.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD stated that, not only have we the testimony of our own Consul that the Chinese coolies are, by the Cuban planters, treated as badly as the negro slaves are treated, but Marshal Serrano himself, speaking in the Spanish Chambers a few years ago, said that African slavery had ceased in Cuba, but Asiatic slavery had taken its place; and he went on to endorse the statements of Consul Crawford on the same subject. The American Consul stated the case of one batch of Chinese who—500 in number—were waiting for a vessel to take them back to China and failing to secure one were seized, and sold back into slavery.

Mr. STURGE: There is one point to which I wish to call your Lordship's attention. We have assumed an advanced position of the insurgents in the memorial which we have presented to you, and you might perhaps be inclined to question the authority on which our assumption is based. On referring to the papers laid before Parliament yesterday, we find no more recent dates than about the end of 1873. There are, it is true, one or two in 1874, but still there remains a very long interval between. We have taken much of our information from American papers, but not caring to rely entirely upon such authority, we have procured an extract from *Diario de la Marina*, an official paper published at Havana on 21st of April, 1875. It is as follows:—"We are not governed by our own impressions on this subject. We have conversed with many persons of intelligence and all agree that we are at this moment arrived at the most serious crisis which has occurred since the breaking out of the revolution." From the statistical papers which come down to the end of 1873, we find that the discount on crown paper

which was 44 in March was 64 in July. This is of course incidental, but it affords a very strong indication of the advance of the revolution together with the general character of it.

The Earl of DERBY, in reply, said:—I am very much obliged to you for coming here to-day, and I need hardly say that I will carefully consider the suggestions which you have made to me. What is proposed to me resolves itself, I think, into three heads. First of all, you wish the British Government to interfere, in order to bring about an understanding between the Spanish Government and the insurgents in Cuba. In the second place you desire that we should interfere, by means of friendly efforts, in order to bring about the emancipation of the slaves in Cuba. And, in the third place, you think we might and ought to do something with regard to the treatment of Chinese coolies, who, as you state, are placed very much in the position of slaves. The last point is the smallest of the three, and I will therefore dispose of it first and put it out of the way. Speaking off hand, I apprehend that we have no treaty right whatever to interfere with the case of these coolies. The only Government which has, strictly speaking, any right to take any part in the matter is the Chinese Government, which does not now prevent the emigration of its subjects, but which, on the other hand, fails to watch over them after they have left their own country. Therefore, as far as the Chinese Government is concerned, there is not much hope that anything practical will be done. With regard to the general position of Chinese emigrants to various parts of the world, I apprehend that the real remedy will be, and in course of time it will be applied, to make the Government and the people of China understand their duty to the coolie emigrants who leave their shores. The free emigration of Chinese labour has greatly increased of late years. As you are no doubt aware, the Chinese are pouring very rapidly into California, and I cannot help thinking that free emigration is destined to supersede the old system of emigration under labour contracts. For my own part, I do not absolutely and unconditionally condemn the system under the altered conditions, but I have no doubt that the system is one that requires very careful watching. This being so, I cannot but remark that when it is carried on by a Government which sanctions and continues the system of negro slavery, it is open to very gross and grave abuses. On the whole, however, I do not see that Her Majesty's Government can do anything in the matter, beyond undertaking that when we hear of well-authenticated cases of oppression

and abuse, we will bring such cases to the knowledge of the Spanish Government. Beyond that we cannot go, for it is a very difficult and delicate matter to interfere with the internal administration of a country, dealing either with its own subjects or with other people who choose to emigrate to a foreign country and put themselves under its laws. To pass to the other matters which you have mentioned, I confess that I should feel considerable doubt in attempting to express any definite opinion concerning the real position of the insurrection in Cuba. It has lasted a long time ; it has been carried on with great pertinacity by the insurgents, and undoubtedly, as far as we can see from a distance, very little progress has been made in putting it down. On the other hand, I think it is at least premature to say, as is said in your Memorial, that "the civil war is fast culminating to a successful issue on the side of the insurgents." I think that from the insurgents' point of view this is a rather sanguine assumption. Practically, I believe the insurrection remains in a very undecided position, some parts of the island being entirely in the hands of the insurgents, and other parts as completely in the hands of the Government troops ; but I do not think that, if at the present time we were to go to the Spanish Government with a proposal for mediation between themselves and the insurgents, our proposal would stand much chance of success, or of being looked upon in a favourable light. You must remember that among the Spanish people the feeling of high patriotism is very strong, and although the Spaniards do not always exactly measure their own strength, and may sometimes overrate their resources, that is a fault which is common to most people. If we were to say to them "You cannot put down the Cubans ; you have tried for some years, and have not yet succeeded." I know beforehand what their answer would be. They would say, "we have two civil wars on our hands at the same time, and our efforts are divided between the two. Let us finish with the Carlists first, and then we shall have all our forces disposable to put an end to the war in Cuba." That is, I have no doubt, the answer they would give, and I should not altogether blame them for it. Who would be less likely to accept, or more ready to resent, than the Spanish people any interference on the part of a Foreign Minister with a question of domestic policy? That is the state of the case which I wish to lay before you. If any prospect opened itself to me of putting an end to this unhappy state of things, I need not say that I and my colleagues in the Government would be as

glad as any member of this deputation to avail ourselves of it ; but I cannot hold out any hope to you in the present state of affairs that we see our way to such a course. As to emancipation in Cuba, I have no doubt that sooner or later it will come. Looking at the question as it stands in the United States, and looking at the number of former slaves who have obtained their freedom, together with the pressure that will be put upon the mother country, I believe, for my own part, that among the slaveholders themselves the fight is only to keep up the management of estates by slave labour as long as they can. Their conviction is that the system cannot last long, and they are fighting not so much with any idea of preserving it permanently, as of continuing their profits for a few years longer. The sympathies of England have always gone in favour of emancipation, and I have no doubt myself that whenever anything like a pacification of the island takes place the emancipation of the slave population will not be far distant. I do not agree with what was said by one member of the deputation, that the present moment is favourable for English interference. I should be glad if I could think so, but I do not believe that emancipation can be proposed at present, and still less that it can take place except as part of a general scheme for the pacification of the island, and I do not suppose that any overture to that effect is likely to proceed from the Spanish Government at present. It may do so later, and if it should, and we see our way to be of any use in the matter, we shall not lose the opportunity. As I said before, however, I think that, in dealing with the domestic and internal affairs of a foreign country, it is not wise to rush forward either with advice or in the way of intervention. It is better to wait until your advice or assistance is asked for, only indicating that, if asked for, neither advice nor assistance will be refused. There is a reference in the Memorial to the arrangement proposed by Señor Castelar, which appears to have met with official acceptance on the part of the United States. With regard to that, I must say that I do not think much advantage can be gained by quoting the authority of Señor Castelar just now. I believe that what has been said as to the United States not desiring the annexation of Cuba is perfectly true ; but at the same time, I am bound, speaking to you with frankness, to say that I think the American Government (and the American people, still more probably than the Government) would receive with considerable suspicion and jealousy any attempt on our part to interfere between Spain and Cuba. They would very pos-

sibly put a wrong construction upon it, and that is one of the considerations which must be borne in mind in dealing with the question. I am sorry if I may seem to give a vague and indecisive answer. I cannot speak in a more positive manner. What I wanted to do was to point out to you, as far as I understand it, the actual position of the matter and the difficulty which occurs in dealing with it. For the rest I need hardly tell you that my sympathies and those of my colleagues are entirely with the objects you have in view.

Mr. T. N. Fowler, the Hon. Arthur Kinnauld, M.P., &c., also expressed their sympathy with the object of the Address.

The Deputation having thanked the noble Earl for his courtesy, withdrew.

SPAIN AND CHINA.

FROM the *Overland China Mail*, for June 5th, 1875, we cull the following interesting paragraph, in the hope that China has resolved to protect her subjects in Cuba:—

SPAIN AND CHINA.

“News of an interesting nature is to hand regarding the respective attitudes of Spain and China regarding the Havana Coolie Trade. Matters, it appears, have reached a pass which at one time almost threatened a resort to that last argument of nations—an appeal to force. The ‘very pretty quarrel’ as it now stands may be described as follows: The report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the details of the trade has elicited from the Chinese Government a positive refusal to allow emigration of any sort to Cuba to continue until all its conditions are complied with by Spain. The Spanish Charge d’Affaires, M. Otin, asserts however that the whole of the statements upon which the Chinese rely are *ex parte*, more especially those made by the Chinese Commissioner, who, it is alleged, simply took down the statements of the coolies who presented themselves, without examining any witnesses on the other side. M. Otin therefore contends that a large portion of the allegations are unfounded. But beyond this a much more important question arises. Spain has a treaty with China authorizing coolie emigration, and the refusal of the latter power to permit its continuance is in effect a breach of treaty. Against this the Spanish Charge d’Affaires protests. An attempt has been made to settle the matter by arbitration, the Foreign Ministers acting as arbitrators. But, unfortunately, they have found themselves unable to agree upon a verdict that would satisfy both sides. The negotiations have frequently been broken off and as

frequently renewed, and on one occasion, when the possibility of a rupture was hinted at, the Chinese are said to have rejoined that Spain could go to war with her if she liked.

“The matter now stands postponed until the arrival of the Spanish Minister, who is expected at Peking this week. It is believed in well-informed circles that China will gain the day, and that the Spanish authorities will give way to all demands which the other ministers consider fair. It is also believed that to guarantee their due performance, China will appoint, and Cuba will receive, consuls who will virtually be ‘Protectors of Chinese’ at the ports at which they reside. If this be true, the coolie trade will in all probability lead to the adoption of another important step in advance by China.”

ARREST OF AN ANTI-SLAVERY SECRETARY IN MADRID.

WE deeply regret to state that Mr. Vizcarrondo, the excellent Honorary Secretary of the Spanish Anti-Slavery Society, has been arrested by the Spanish Government.

The charge against him is said to be that of making common cause with filibusters, and that, for this, he is to be banished. We feel assured that our honoured colleague has done nothing contrary to law, but we think it quite probable that the Government has been misled by the false charges of certain parties in the Capital, who are interested in the maintenance of Slavery. To these parties, it is said, the present Cabinet of Madrid mainly owes its support. If we are rightly informed, the means of placing King Alphonso on the throne were principally supplied by a Madrid millionaire, whose enormous fortune was amassed in the slave-trade, and who, since the accession of the young king, has been rewarded by a dukedom. It is a significant fact that the many distinguished men, who have been banished by the present Spanish Government, have been conspicuous advocates of the abolition of slavery.

THE SEYYID OF ZANZIBAR.

A DEPUTATION of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society waited upon His Highness Seyyid Barghash Bin Said, Sultan of Zanzibar, on Saturday morning, June 19th, at the Alexandra Hotel, for the purpose of presenting an Address to His Highness upon the subject which, of all those connected with his rule, interests the public of Great Britain most deeply. The

concurrent testimony of those who have the best means of information is that since the treaty of 1873, Seyyid Barghash has loyally carried out his engagements to repress the slave-trade. Dr. Badger assured the deputation of the Anti-Slavery Society that the Seyyid had retaken more slaves than the British cruisers had. The Anti-Slavery Society pointed out that in spite of his admitted co-operation the slave-trade has continued to flourish, though it goes on by new routes, chiefly overland, and without enriching our ally. He has lost £10,000 a-year by the closing of the slave-market at Zanzibar, but along the shores of which he is the nominal ruler, caravans of starved and overdriven negro-women and lads continue to be hurried.

Among the members of the deputation were Sir J. Kennaway, Mr. Richard, Mr. Duncan McLaren, and Mr. J. Corbett, members of the House of Commons; and Sir C. Wingfield, Mr. Samuel Gurney, Mr. H. Ashworth, Mr. E. Sturge, Mr. R. Alsop, Mr. W. Allen, the Rev. J. O. Whitehouse, and the Rev. A. Buzacott. Dr. Kirk, and Dr. Badger, with Mr. Clement Hill, were present, together with the principal Arab chieftains who have accompanied the Seyyid. After the deputation had been presented, and the Seyyid had shaken hands with several of its members, the following address was read by the Rev. A. Buzacott, Secretary of the Society. It had already been translated to the Seyyid, but was now again translated to him by Dr. Badger, in the presence of the deputation :—

"Highness.—The members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, founded many years ago for the purpose of promoting the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, hail the visit of your Highness to this country with great satisfaction, and desire to unite with their fellow-countrymen in offering to you their most cordial welcome.

"They rejoice to be able to congratulate and to thank your Highness for having entered into the Treaty of 1873 with Great Britain, by which you have engaged to put an end to the slave-trade both in Zanzibar and throughout your dominions on the east coast of Africa.

"The Anti-Slavery Committee has watched the effect of the Treaty with the deepest interest, and although its execution has been followed by an increase of the slave-trade, by land routes in the interior of Africa, they rejoice to know that your Highness has honourably fulfilled your treaty obligations, though attended by large pecuniary sacrifices on your part.

"It has often been observed, in various parts of the world, by the Committee that the profits of the slave-trade and of slavery are very large for a time, but that they are never found to form the basis of the permanent prosperity of any country.

"The true and lasting prosperity of any people can only be established by a course of conduct in accordance with the principles of religion, justice and humanity.

"The Committee would take the liberty of calling the attention of your Highness to the complaint which reaches them from travellers passing through the districts desolated by the slave-trade.

"These gentlemen report that the chief perpetrators of these atrocities are often men whose expeditions are organised and equipped at your Highness's capital city of Zanzibar, and who in all cases draw their supplies from its markets. The Committee feel that it will be in accordance with your Highness's enlightened policy to exert the power which is in your hands to control the nefarious and cruel transactions of these men.

"By your recent acts you have done much in the right direction, and your Highness, as we conceive, has only to take measures to bring about the complete extinction of slavery, and to open the ports and rivers of your dominions to all lawful commerce, in order to insure a prosperity among your people and a flourishing state of your resources such as your country has never yet known.

"By delivering your country from the enormous and complicated evils of the slave-trade and slavery, you gain lasting honour to your name and reign.

"In conclusion, we would record our earnest desire that, through the blessing of the Most High, your reign may be peaceable and prosperous, and that all your people may be happy and free."

"On behalf of the Anti-Slavery Committee,

"We are,

"With much respect,

JOSEPH COOPER,
EDMUND STURGE, } Hon.
ROBERT ALSOP, } Secs.

AARON BUZACOTT, Secretary.

"June 19th, 1875."

Dr. Badger then read the following translation which he had prepared of the Seyyid's reply :—

"To the Members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.—May God preserve them, Amen!—We thank you for the expression of your cordial welcome, and we are most happy to have met you. As regards the abolition of the slave-trade throughout our dominion, we shall endeavour, God willing, always to fulfil our treaty engagements with Great Britain. Nevertheless, as you must be aware, a traffic of very long standing, having ramifications through a vast extent of country, cannot be eradicated at once, and we feel assured that your Society and the generous British people will appreciate the great difficulties which we have to contend with in this matter, and the loss which has accrued to our islands through the same.

"Still, we are doing our best, and are intent on causing our people to carry it out, owing to our anxious desire to execute the wishes of the

exalted (British) Government, in consequence of its uniform kindness and the gracious interest which it has manifested in us. Again we heartily thank you, and we shall always reciprocate your kindness.

"Written in the preserved City of London 1410 of Jamâder.'L-Awwal, A.H. 1292 (June 19, 1875).

"BARGHASH-BIN-SAID."

The signature was written by the Seyyid in the presence of the deputation as witnesses. After some remarks from Dr. Badger, in which he said that Dr. Kirk, Mr. Hill, and himself, being acquainted with the country, well knew the difficulties the Seyyid had in any substantial interference with the slave-trade in the vast interior which is nominally under his authority. Sir J. Kennaway expressed thanks for the reception, among so many engagements. "That is your kindness, your benevolence," was the reply; and with similar compliments the deputation withdrew.—*Times*.

DR. MULLENS ON SLAVERY IN MADAGASCAR.

IN the concluding chapter of his most valuable book, recently published, entitled, "Twelve Months in Madagascar," Dr. Mullens refers to slavery and the slave-trade in this interesting island. The disclosures will, no doubt, startle and grieve many of our readers. The idea of slavery and slave-trading—as a sin,—has not yet been fairly and faithfully presented to the people. It is, of course, an evil, having *evil consequences*, and as such must soon be grappled with. It is described as a condition of serfdom, rather than of slavery, and this mitigation is due to "the influence of Christianity," and "to the absence of any imperative demand for produce of special kinds."

The Government exhibits a certain degree of sensitiveness when the subject is referred to,—suggesting that the views on slavery in England may be well known in Madagascar. No doubt, the problem is a difficult one. It always has been difficult to remove a vast system of iniquity. But action has already commenced. The importation of slaves is forbidden by the Government, and *so far as the authorities can exert their power, so far, we may assume this importation will cease.* But extensive districts of the island are, at present, beyond the central power; and while *domestic slavery* is tolerated, the importation will, we fear, be checked more by English cruisers than by the absence of the demand. While *domestic slavery* exists, there will be a demand, and while

the demand continues, importation will also continue.

We will now give a few extracts, only adding that the italics are ours:—

SLAVERY AND ITS RESULTS.

"Throughout our visit we felt that there is one very weak point in Malagasy social life, the system of domestic slavery. We saw it; we touched it at many points; it forced itself continually upon our attention. And we were glad to find that many thoughtful men among the upper classes of Malagasy society feel it to be a serious evil, which must some day be carefully considered by the Malagasy people and be entirely abolished. It is an ancient institution in the island; and, as in other lands, for the sake of a present and temporary advantage, it has done, and is still doing, deep and permanent harm. From abroad there have been imported into Madagascar a multitude of pure Africans, who have, to some extent, been absorbed into the community, and tainted the pure Malagasy blood. Many individuals in the highest Hova families have crisp woolly hair and thick lips, even with the high forehead and straight nose of the Malay races. From *within*, the slave class has been increased by captives in war from all the native tribes, Hova and Betsileo, as well as Sakalavas; also by the criminal classes, whether condemned for theft and murder, or (in the dark days) for the crime of reading the Word of God. In general, slaves are very cheap; they may be purchased for as little as ten dollars, or for as much as forty or fifty. To possess slaves is one sign of respectability; and many a man—especially of Hova blood—who has redeemed himself from bondage, as soon as he can manage it, will buy slaves for himself. The general effect of the system is to degrade labour—to give the community the idea that people of station should not work, but should live on the labour of others."

CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIAN PASTORS OWN SLAVES.

"Slaves are held in large numbers by the leaders of society. Some individuals own hundreds, and some have even two or three thousand slaves. Many excellent Christians own them, many pastors of churches have them, and the churches and congregations are filled with slaves."

We have read these words with deep regret—these slaveholders may be very sincere, zealous men; but they can scarcely be excellent Christians.

"The system is local and domestic. Christianity is greatly affecting it and influencing it for good. As a rule, it is not harshly administered. Opportunities are of frequent occurrence under which slaves can purchase their freedom, either by their own efforts or by loans from their friends. The male slaves, too, have a great deal of independence both in action and spirit. They are allowed to earn money—to carry burdens to great distances, and to re-

ceive the price of their service. Sometimes they give their owners nothing, at other times they agree to give a portion—say, half their earnings. Sometimes the owners are hard and selfish, and demand the whole. In such cases spirited slaves run off.

"The country is large and wide. No Man's Land is not distant, and the injured people go to another part of the country and settle in the forests or dig new land. Under the influence of Christianity, and in the absence of any imperative demand for produce of special kinds, this domestic slavery has become serfdom rather than slavery; and there are many points of resemblance between it and the former system of Russia. The most prominent among its evil effects at the present time is that it encourages and increases the general idleness of the community, and renders all labour inefficient, because to such a large extent feudal service, as well as slavery, denies to the man who would be industrious any large share in the fruits of his industry. As there spreads among the community a deeper sense of what is just between man and man, a deeper respect for good women, slave as well as free, and a truer estimate of the worth of men as men, the way will be prepared for a right settlement of these important questions, and the relations of the members of the community to one another will be placed upon a healthy footing."

THE GOVERNMENT LARGEY COMMITTED
TO SLAVERY.

"By the Hova Government it is still observed, and there is reason to believe that by the Government and by the officers and people generally any infringement of its stipulations is disapproved. But the territory is larger than the Government. Over the unfriendly Sakalavas on the west coast they have no control whatever. The officers in the garrison towns among the friendly tribes apparently tamper with the evil, and individuals are freely named, both in Imerina and in the provinces, who are said privately to soil their hands with the traffic, and to make from it large profits. The Arab and Hindu merchants live on the coast; the Arab dhows run backward and forward between the west coast of the island and Mozambique; they are said to run their vessels, not into Mojanga Bay, but up the deep River Loza, some forty miles to the north, or into the quiet bays away from the Hova towns."

SIR BARTLE FRERE'S ESTIMATE OF THE
NUMBERS IMPORTED.

"And Sir Bartle Frere not only exposed the system, as the result of his inquiries on both sides the Mozambique Channel; but he avers on good grounds that the number of Africans, run in by these vessels, amount to six thousand a-year."

FRESH ARRIVALS OF SLAVES IN THE
CAPITAL, ETC.

"Not seldom were pure African slaves, knowing but little of the Malagasy tongue, met with in the capital and other parts of Imerina. The people in general know them as 'Mojambikas'

Still more numerous did we find them in the seven garrison towns in the north-west. Several came round us in Mevatanána. Marovoay was full of them. In Mojanga they form a large portion of the population in the lower town. And they all have a great dislike to the Hovas, whom they regard as the authors of their exile and captivity. The other proof of the activity of the trade is found in the important captures that have been made since the vessels of the English navy and their crews on boat service have been hunting down the slave dhows during the last three years."

CAPTURE OF A SLAVE DHOW.

"Commander Brooke welcomed us to his vessel, and kindly explained to us what had occurred. He had been cruising about the coast for some time, and several of his boats were away, examining the bays and river mouths to the northward. Yesterday morning they had spied a dhow making for the land, but with little progress, owing to the light wind. His steamer was soon alongside; the flag was hauled down, and his men went on board to take possession. Having sent away the crew, they proceeded to open the slaver's hold. They lifted out several children, and then one of the men said to the officer, 'Sir, these are only at the top; there are three tiers of them, and the men and women are at the bottom.' Exhausted, attenuated, wholly unable to stand, the poor creatures were carefully lifted out, one by one, into the boats, were rowed to the *Vulture*, and placed upon her deck. There were two hundred and thirty-six in all; forty-two men, fifty-seven women, and a hundred and thirty-seven children. They had all been packed, like herrings, in the hold of the dhow, in a space a yard and a half high, the little ones at the top. They had been seven days on board, and had been nearly starved. The dhow had all but made good her voyage, when, in God's providence, she was captured and her victims were set free. I had often read of the 'horrors of the middle passage'; but they never came home to me as they did then. Poor people! Many of them were injured by their cruel confinement beyond recovery. The *Vulture* carried them to the English colony in Sehelles; but, before their ten days' voyage was completed, seventeen of them were dead. Since our return to England we have seen with pleasure that the *Vulture* and her companions have made other captures; that the squadron on the East Coast of Africa has been strengthened; and that the English Government and people are determined to have the trade stopped."

We ask attention to a "more excellent way"—a way which should be readily adopted by Christians. Destroy the demand, and the trade, both in the island and to the island, will immediately cease.

THE TREATMENT OF INDIAN IMMIGRANTS IN MAURITIUS.

TESTIMONY OF AN INDEPENDENT WITNESS.

THE report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the *abuses* said to have been practised in the Island of Mauritius is at length before Parliament—and is accessible to the English public. These voluminous papers have been examined by the Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley, who has a very able paper on this subject in the June number of the *Fortnightly Review*. From this article we quote a few extracts—some expressing Mr. Stanley's own conclusions, and others as supplying quotations from the evidence printed in the Report of the Commissioners. The evidence proves, beyond all doubt, the soundness of the positions taken by the Anti-Slavery Society in relation to coolie labour. There are many, like Mr. Clements R. Markham, who urge (*Geographical Magazine*, December, 1874, pp. 368, &c.), that the evils connected with coolie importation arise solely out of the fact—that “a system of emigration on a large scale (was allowed) to fall into private and irresponsible hands.” Only let Governments so enlightened as that of Peru, take the traffic under their own control, and not suffer private speculators to have any hand in the business—then all the cruelties, the frightful mortality, the mysterious mania for suicide, the delay in payment of wages, &c. &c., all these evils would utterly cease, and coolie labour would at once benefit the coolie and enrich the country. It is quietly assumed that Governments are better masters or employers than private individuals—it is forgotten that human selfishness is the real cause of these evils, and that human selfishness is stronger and more ingenious in expedients than any or all Governments. We may allow that Governments can *mitigate* these evils—we deny that any Government has ever yet *eradicated* them.

In proof we call attention to the Report of the Commissioners now laid before Parliament. In the Mauritius the coolie emigration is *not* in private, irresponsible hands ; it is carried on under Government inspection and regulation. There is an officer whose special title is the “*Protector*” of the Indians. Laws almost innumerable have been made, as it is said, in the interest of the coolie ; and yet the *result*, as described in this Report, is enough to reduce the most sanguine philanthropist to despair. “Wherever we turn in Mauritius,” says Mr. Stanley, “we find the same sad story of wrong. The whole island is involved in the same condemnation. The Creole planters (whose character is not

such that they can claim any very high place for humanity or civilisation) have got hold of a weak race, and they utilise them remorselessly.”

“ The whole system of coolie immigration is bad from the beginning ; no tinkering will mend it. There is, unfortunately, a large mass of these Indians in the island, and the authorities must make the best of them ; but at any rate the artificial immigration and contracts for long terms of service should cease now and, for ever, and the Government should learn that it has a higher duty than that of producing 100,000 tons of sugar a-year—the welfare of two hundred thousand Indians, who have been brought thither by false promises, whose old social system, based on the ancestral village community, on the restraints of caste and custom, has been broken up and thrown to the winds, while no elevating influence or higher code of education and morals has been substituted for the ancient standards. But the task of reformation is one which might terrify a brave man and bewilder a wise man. Not only the community which has to be governed, but the instruments of government, are hostile and untrustworthy, and there is but a feeble public opinion at home to support a Governor against the interested opposition of those who look only to the expansion of colonial trade. Commerce has done much for the civilisation of the world ; but commerce, when the rights of inferior races clash with the development of industry, is very ruthless. Looking back at our relations with China, and the history of our various Chinese wars, we cannot feel sanguine that the commercial classes who are connected with Mauritius will help the Government. Still, if the Colonial Office will be firm, and uphold and stimulate their Governor in Mauritius, the melancholy revelations of this inquiry may not be without a good result.”

It should be stated that the *report* now published, was necessitated by a new labour law, and the infamous ways in which it was enforced.

This law will give some idea of the moral attitude of Europeans towards the *free* coolies. For this law was specially directed to harass the Indian and Chinese coolies, who had completed their contract term of years, and were therefore, by law, *free*, as free as any subject of the Queen in Mauritius. But special laws in Mauritius prove to be only subtle means of depriving the *free* labourer of his liberty, of his property, and of his civil rights.

We can study the treatment of the coolies, in the light of a petition presented to the Government, setting forth their wrongs, testing the petition by the report of the Commissioners. We can also estimate the character and conduct of the Europeans in the island, by their treatment of a brave man—a right noble hero—apparently the only *man*, with a

love of fair play, with a respect for law, and with the least sympathy with the oppressed, to be found in Mauritius, courageous enough to speak and act on behalf of the coolie.

We must tell the *story* of his life in a separate article. It is worthy of careful study by the loud admirers of *coolie immigration under Government regulation and supervision*.

"A fearful pestilence broke out, which raged from February to May, 1867, in which nearly 26,000 of the inhabitants died, more than 14,000 of them in Port Louis, the capital. In this time of general distress, many of the Indians were no doubt reduced to vagrancy, and the opportunity was seized for a piece of stringent legislation against the old immigrants (or Indians who had completed their five years' term of service), which, both in its severity and in the way in which it was enforced, went beyond any previous Mauritius legislation. The ostensible reason of this labour law was the increase of crime and the danger of disease from the lawless habits of the old immigrants, who were to be disciplined into civilisation by the interference of the police. But, if we study the history of its enactment, we cannot doubt that this famous Ordinance No 31 of 1867, passed on the 29th of November, had for its main object the forcing old immigrants to re-engage on the sugar estates instead of working on their own account."

The first twelve paragraphs of the petition, signed by 9,491 petitioners, very clearly set forth their grievances, and appeal to the Governor for protection and redress.

**FREE COOLIES DEPRIVED OF THEIR FREEDOM,
AND EXPOSED TO SYSTEMATIC ANNOYANCES
BY THE POLICE.**

"That your petitioners suffer many and great grievances from the existing laws, by which they are deprived of that freedom which all other inhabitants of Mauritius enjoy.

"Your petitioners are required to have and always carry with them a ticket, with their photograph and a police pass. Though these are supplied to them free of charge on the expiration of their five years of engaged service, yet if they are lost, as frequently happens, through their being obliged always to carry them about, your petitioners are required immediately to apply for others, for which they must pay 5 dollars for the ticket, and for the photograph 2s., making together 22s., a sum nearly equal to two month's wages on an estate. To procure one of these papers some of your petitioners have had to walk from 100 to 150 miles; when at the immigration office, if they have made the slightest remonstrance, they have been beaten with rattans. If found without either of the above papers, they are taken to the police station and locked up until they can be brought before the magistrate. If arrested on the Friday in a district

where the magistrate does not sit on the Saturday, they are imprisoned until the following Monday morning. It may be that their wife or some friend brings them their papers, which they had forgotten at home; but this will not procure their release until Monday."

REPORT OF ROYAL COMMISSIONERS.

"The Commissioners have collected plenty of evidence (see pp. 106 and following of their Report) which shows that the aim of the planters was to force the old immigrants to re-engage, and it will be found that the Government did their best to further the wishes of the planters. In the first place heavy taxes were levied upon the coolies who were not engaged on the sugar estates; and, secondly, they were subject to constant persecution by the police, whose character has been already described. Vagrant hunts were organised on a large scale, when the country was scoured by converging bodies of police, and all whose papers were not in order, many against whom nothing could be produced, were hurried off before the magistrates, and there found themselves promptly sentenced to imprisonment for fabricated offences, unless they preferred to sacrifice their freedom in another form by engaging themselves as indentured labourers on plantations."

VIOLENT CONDUCT OF THE POLICE.

Some idea may be formed of the way in which the police set to work in 1868, from the fact that, according to their own showing, in 1868, they arrested as vagrants 22,357 persons, of whom 12,553 were discharged without punishment. How these arrests were made appears from the following documents."

MODUS OPERANDI—VAGRANT HUNTS.

"On 1st June, 1869, the following notice was issued (Report p. 167, § 806):—

"To Inspectors in County Districts.

"There will be a general vagrant hunt on Saturday next, the 5th instant. Time of starting, distribution of men, &c., will be left to the discretion of the inspectors themselves.

"(Signed) J. A. SPENCER,

"Acting-Superintendent."

"To Inspector Timperley.

"19th July, 1870.

"Vagrant hunt on Saturday next, 23rd instant. All available men in your district will start from Pamplemoupe's at 4 a.m. and scour all along as far as Pieter Both, where they will meet the Port Louis party at about 10 a.m. Of course you will arrange that your men have something to eat and drink while out, for which send in your bill to paymaster. You will lead the party from your district in the hunt yourself.

"(Signed) F. T. BLUNT,

"Captain Adjutant."

Mr. Stanley remarks:—

"How careful the police were in these hunts may be judged from the results of the hunt of the 23rd July, above ordered. In all seventy-

nine coolies were arrested, but only forty-one were condemned, or little more than half. When we come to examine the conduct of the magistrates we shall see how far condemnation was evidence of culpability. Not only were these general hunts organised, but orders were sent out from the General Police Office to stimulate the zeal of the police. Thus: 'District Order No 7. General Police Office, 7th April, 1869. The non-commissioned officers and constables at each post are to patrol their sub-districts and arrest as many vagrants as possible. (Signed) J. A. Spencer, Acting Superintendent.' On the 13th April, 1869. District Order No. 21, concludes as follows:—'The new labour law must be strictly put in force.'"

It may thus be seen how utterly delusive to the free coolies were all ideas of impartial justice or of freedom, to any but Europeans.

The vexatious character of the legislation may be illustrated by the following facts:—A free coolie may at any moment be required by the police to show his papers—his photograph and police-pass. If he moves out of the parish for which his police-pass is given, he is stopped and taken before the police inspector, to have his papers duly endorsed. If the inspector be absent from his office—as he is, most of the day—the coolie is arrested and kept in confinement till the next day, or till the following Monday. Frequently coolies who have not had their passes endorsed for the district into which *they have walked* are arrested and sentenced to hard labour as vagabonds. Obliged to carry their papers about with them at all times, they often lose *them*. Then *others* must be *procured*, at a cost of 22s. Or they are allowed eight days' grace, in order to enable them to *find* what is called *permanent employment*, which means that they must surrender their freedom and bind themselves again to a planter for another term of years; for, if they prefer to work as *day-labourers*, they must *first* purchase a licence, which costs 22s., or nearly two months' wages on the estates. If they refuse to enter upon a new contract, and cannot find the 22s., they are sent to the Vagrant Dépôt, where the *authorities* compel them to enter upon a new period of contract service. It is obvious how these poor labourers feel that they are completely at the mercy of the police. Their constant liability to arrest naturally produces a habit of recklessness, while every device is legalised in order to prevent their earning wages as *labourers*, having a choice of work, or of employer, or of locality. One tithe of the restrictions imposed upon these *free coolies* in Mauritius, imposed upon our English working men would rouse our population into rebellion in a month.

In proof of this real servitude, let us read the following sentences in their petition to the governor:—

"Many of your petitioners are sellers of vegetables, and carry baskets of produce to the market every morning. They have their papers endorsed for the district of Port Louis for three months. They seldom get to town without being stopped by a policeman, and having their papers examined *perhaps on an average three times during the double journey*. They must wait until the policeman chooses to give them back their papers, and frequently lose their market in consequence. Your petitioners are thus at the mercy of the police, and the most industrious and best conducted of men among them cannot stir but by their sufferance."

So much for the vaunted liberty to be enjoyed by all honest men who set foot on British territory. So much for the equity of laws devised to harass and injure men who wish to live a quiet and industrious life! But the half of their grievances finds no place in their petition; but is exposed by the Report of the Commission which the planters, in their blind selfishness, demanded in order to refute "the libels of M. de Plevitz."

THE CHARACTER OF THE POLICE.

The Police Commission reported, that plans based upon trickery and espionage are practised by the police in order to obtain evidence from accused persons, such as shutting up detectives with prisoners; such as leading the accused "about the town or country roads and (giving) him refreshments in shops with a view of inducing him, by persuasion, by promises, or by threats, to give evidence against himself or others, or to make statements which may afterwards be repeated and produced before the courts as confession."

We pass by many further proofs, and copy only the concluding passage in this verdict. "We fear we must add that the custom of taking money to *refrain from bringing charges, or of extorting money on threats of bringing charges*, appears to have occurred frequently in the police force."

This report exasperated Colonel O'Brien, the chief of the police; but we need no further witness than this officer, who complains bitterly that he cannot find honest and suitable men to employ as policemen, and is compelled to enlist "either men too ignorant to understand their duties, or if educated, they are mostly drunkards, or men of bad conduct." And no wonder, for what man with a spark of honour, or the least fragment of the sense of justice would consent to be an instrument in carrying out the most detestable system of laws which can be found in any civilised country?

THE POLICE OUTDONE BY THE MAGISTRATES.

Mr. Stanley writes:—

"Without dwelling further on the details of the administration by magistrates of the new labour law, let us notice one or two instances of the mode in which justice is administered in Mauritius."

ONE MAGISTRATE'S DAY'S WORK.

"In Appendix O will be found the record of a magistrate's day's work. Mr. Delafaye, on 21st November, 1870, in twenty-four cases tried by him, inflicted sentences in excess of the legal maximum varying from fourteen days to ninety-two days. In all, on that one day, he sentenced the twenty-four prisoners to 1,061 days in excess of what it was lawful to inflict—an average of more than forty-four days, and more than double what the law allowed. A fuller statement of Mr. Delafaye's wild and reckless injustice will be found at page 548 of the report."

SYMPATHY OF PLANTERS WITH WANTON INJUSTICE.

"His whole term of office was only four months, but on his resignation an address was presented to him, signed by nearly all the leading planters of his district, expressing their regret at losing him, and their admiration of the mode in which he administered justice. The Commissioners report that Mr. Trouchet, his temporary successor, was second only to Mr. Delafaye in his confusion of offences and illegal sentences."

MAGISTRATES' JUSTICE.

"It is a weary task to repeat instances of illegality and oppression, not only by planters, but by magistrates who should be the protectors of the coolie. In one case a magistrate was detected falsifying the record of his conviction, in order to defeat an appeal brought against his decision. Habitually magistrates confound the offences of illegal absence, entailing a punishment of fourteen days' imprisonment, with desertion, involving three months. If this misconduct were exceptional, the case of the planters and Government of Mauritius might not be so bad; but this carelessness of magistrates is the rule, not the exception. And as to the planters, the very best of them—those who, like Mr. Antelme, are beloved by the coolies—have habitually practised the double-cut illegally, and the general practice of the island has been to be in arrear in payment of wages to such an extent that, had the coolies known their rights, or had the magistrates helped them in the assertion of them, their engagements would have been constantly cancelled."

Enough evidence has now been given from official sources to justify again—if it were needed—the position taken by this Society—that the *contract system*, even under Government supervision and regulation, is so beset with temptations to fraud, and injustice, and cruelty, that "no tin-

kering can mend it." It is one saddening, sickening story of wrong, from beginning to end. We owe the Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley, many thanks for the fidelity and ability with which he has put into a readable form the facts reported by the Royal Commission. If only the English people would read his paper, their natural sense of justice would soon put an end to the whole iniquitous system.

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY BY PORTUGAL.

WE have much pleasure in inserting the following communication in reference to slavery in the Portuguese possessions. There has not yet been sufficient time to go carefully over the documents obligingly furnished by Viscount Duprat, but the information supplied by the noble Viscount is highly honourable to the King of Portugal and His Majesty's Ministers.

Portuguese Consulate General,
London, 20th July, 1875.

DEAR SIR,—Referring to my letter of the 21st ult., I have now the pleasure to hand you an extract from the letter of a friend at Lisbon, respecting the abolition of slavery in Portuguese dominions. It is as follows:—

"The decree of the 31st October, 1874, abolishing all vestiges of slavery in the archipelago of the Cape Verds, and the Carta de Lei of the 29th of April last is considered to extinguish, within the space of one year, the condition of slavery throughout the ultra-marine provinces, and declares those to be free to whom the said law applies."

I am also very pleased to be able to send you a copy of the *Diario do Governo* of the 11th of May last, containing the decree of the 29th of April above mentioned, and I trust the information thus conveyed will enable you to fulfil the end you had in view in your letter to me of the 18th ult.

I remain, dear Sir,
Your very obedient Servant,
DUPRAT.

JOSEPH COOPER, Esq.,
Essex Hall, Walthamstow.

RENEWED AGITATION BY PLANTERS FOR AN INCREASED SUBSIDY ON BEHALF OF COOLIE EMIGRATION TO JAMAICA.

THE *Semi-Weekly Gleaner*, under date May 4th, Kingston, Jamaica, contains the



following letter from our watchful correspondent in that island :—

(To the Editor of the *Semi-Weekly Gleaner*.)

Sir,—We are indebted to you for publishing the speeches on Coolie Immigration at the Planters' Convention, as it is interesting to hear what kind of arguments can be used in defence of such a system.

The substance of their reasoning is summed up by the first speaker, with a *naïveté* which, if a lady were the reasoner, would be quite charming, in the simple question,—"Can the sugar planter afford to pay all the expenses contingent on the sugar culture." And he volunteers to inform us that "those who are acquainted with the balance sheet of the sugar producer must know how defraying expenses affects their pockets." And his conclusion, and that of other speakers is, that the planter cannot afford to pay his own expenses, and that therefore the public of Jamaica ought to come forward cheerfully and pay them for him.

But is it the sugar planter alone who finds himself in this difficulty? Do not editors, and clergymen, and shop-keepers, and small settlers, and, in a word, every class in the community, know how defraying the expenses affects their pockets? And do we not often find that we cannot afford to pay all the expenses contingent on our occupations; and have to pay our taxes, not out of capital, like Mr. Solomon (because we have none), but out of our daily supply of food and raiment, and that at the rate of nearly 25 per cent.? And when we "demur and set up long faces" do not those who fleece us declare that we are the most lightly-taxed people in the world, and wonder, like the cook who skinned the live eels, how we can be so impatient under the operation?

Then if paternal government is to give £70,000 a-year to pay the expenses of a score or two of sugar planters, how much ought it, by the same rule, to give to pay the expenses of all the rest of us?

It is true, we are told, that the planters differ from us, in that they are "the soul of the country," and that the revenue depends almost entirely on them, but the following extract from my petition to the Legislative Council shows that the sugar interest is at present only a terrible incubus on the Revenue :—

"That the expenditure about coolies in 1873 was £74,244, while the expenditure in the same year about all the main and parochial roads in the island was only £55,000. That the argument used to justify the appropriation of these vast sums of public money to private purposes is, that it is necessary to keep up the sugar

estates because they contribute so largely to the general revenue; but your petitioner has ascertained that the twenty-five estates in the parish of Westmoreland pay on the average only £30 cash in direct taxes, which, taking the total number of estates at 300, gives £9,000 for the whole island; but as the estates in this parish are larger than in other parishes, this estimate is probably much in excess of the actual sum. Horned cattle, which are the working stock of the estates, pay no taxes; while horses, mules, and asses, which are the working stock of the rest of the community, pay eleven shillings or three and sixpence each. The export tax in 1873 amounted to £17,337, but the employers of coolies certainly did not pay the whole of that tax. The proprietors being, as a rule, non-resident, do not pay any of our import tax on their food and clothing, and their estates, supplies, and machinery are free. They pay £10,000 in capitation tax and hospital fees. The account then between the public of Jamaica and the proprietors of these 300 sugar estates stands thus :—

To expenditure for coolies	£74,244
By direct taxes	£9,000
,, Export tax	17,327
,, Cap. payment, &c....	10,000
	36,327

Leaving a dead loss to the public, yearly, of.. . . . £37,917

"From which it appears that the sugar estates not only do not pay a single farthing of taxes, but, on the contrary, receive for their private use, a gift of nearly £40,000 a-year out of the taxes paid by the rest of the community."

But I deprecate being considered an enemy of the planters, because I oppose a system of such palpable wrong and oppression as coolie immigration, and maintain that they ought to pay their fair share of the taxes, the same as other people. I am quite as anxious for the wellbeing of the *resident* proprietors as I am for that of the negroes; indeed their interests are identical, and the one cannot prosper but in the prosperity of the other. Since emancipation the policy of the governing class has been to keep the native labourers as poor as possible by lowering wages, and increasing the price of food and clothing, under the idea of compelling them to work cheap; and they have succeeded, but with the same result as the man who gradually reduced his horse to live on a straw a-day—they have, by their own showing, lost the services of the native labourers altogether.

Our *resident* proprietors are not, however, accountable either for the vast sums of public money thrown away on "immigration," or for the exemption of the

estates from taxation. Not all the Espeuts, Solomons, Westmorlands and Harveys in the island would be able to persuade the English Government to send them a single coolie, or remit one iota of their taxes, were it not that they happen to be, in these matters, in the same boat with a few West India merchants in London, who have votes in the House of Commons, and influence at the Colonial Office.

The Jamaica Government is still in principle what it has ever been for the last 200 years,—an organisation for robbing and oppressing the people of Jamaica, both planters and labourers, for the benefit of the English merchants. Look at every item of alterations in taxation made by Sir J. P. Grant, and it will be seen that they were all designed to remove the burden from the absentees and to lay it upon us who are resident.

I believe that if the few remaining men of education, character and influence in the island were agreed in demanding justice to Jamaica from the present Government we should get it. Though I confess I am doubtful whether there is, at present, enough of unity, patriotism and love of justice among us to exercise any moral pressure, in a right direction, on the Colonial Office; and for the same reason, any description of "Home Rule" would only make matters worse. The Jamaica Association appear to represent only themselves, for they have not yet shown a sign that they have ever remembered the 500,000 people at all. Besides, they advocate coolie slavery, at the public expense, and the men who wish to enslave others, of whatever colour or race, deserve to continue slaves themselves.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) HENRY CLARKE.
The Rectory, Sav-la-Mar.
30th April, 1875.

THE GORDON EXPEDITION.

IN a letter published in the *Times*, March 2nd, dated Berba, Tropical Africa, January 13th, we have the following interesting narrative of the capture of some slave traders and the release of the slaves. The lacerated condition of the poor boys and girls when liberated, supplies additional evidence that the trade has lost none of its cruelties and horrors:—

SLAVE DEALERS CAUGHT.

The sun had long set when Mr. Marcopoli and Mr. Russell, who were riding some distance ahead of the party, heard the sounds of an approaching caravan. "Very strange,"

said the former. "What can it be left Berba so late for? Arabs, as a rule, do not like travelling by night when there is no moon." Presently a few dark outlines of camels loomed in sight through the dusky atmosphere, and we come face to face with some well-dressed Arab merchants, behind whom marched, in little bands of four and five, a number of boys and girls, whose ages averaged from ten to sixteen years. Then some more camels, some of them carrying two and three young girls; and further in the rear men with koorbatches, or long whips, and swarthy Nubians, armed with spears, closed the cavalcade. "Salam a leikom" ("Peace be with you"), said my companion to the chief of the caravan. "Where are you going?" "We are all pilgrims, and are on our way to Jeddah, *via* Suakin," was the answer given in an undertone to Mr. Marcopoli's interrogation. The latter continued his path for two or three minutes, apparently buried in deep thought. Suddenly he exclaimed, "They are not pilgrims. Boys and girls do not go to Mecca. It is a slave caravan. Now, what is to be done? We are only ten hours from Berba. Shall we hasten on and inform the Governor that, in spite of the stringent orders given by the Khedive and the endeavours of Colonel Gordon in the interior, the slave traders are laughing at his beard within twenty-five miles of Berba? Or shall we return and take the slave traders ourselves?"

THE SLAVE-DEALERS CAUGHT BY TWO TRAVELLERS.

The last-mentioned course of action was thought to be the best one; and, hastily loading our revolvers, we turned our jaded beasts and trotted back towards the caravan. After some time we came up with it, and Mr. Marcopoli, accosting the chief merchant, told him that his statement about the boys and girls being pilgrims was a false one, for they were slaves, and that, in the name of His Highness the Khedive, he (Mr. Marcopoli) arrested him. "But how can I know that you have any authority to detain me?" was the reply of the man addressed, who now seemed thoroughly frightened. "How can we tell that you are officers of the Government?" said a trader, riding up to the side of the leader of the caravan. "If they are officers, they must have soldiers with them," called out a third. "Where are your soldiers?" "I believe they are robbers," shouted another. "Our soldiers are close by," said Mr. Marcopoli. (Fortunately, it happened that there were two with the main body of our party.) "Well," said the chief merchant, after muttering something in an undertone to one of his subordinates, "in that case I will accompany you; and if you really have soldiers, why, then you can return for the remainder of our party." "Will the rest of the slave-dealers not escape with the slaves if we leave them?" I inquired. "No," said Mr. Marcopoli; "and, at all events, we have the chief merchant as a hostage."

ESCAPE OF THE TRADERS WITH THEIR VICTIMS.

—THE SOLDIERS ACCEPT BRIBES.

We soon fell in with our caravan, and desired the soldiers to arrest the merchant. It appeared, however, that they were old acquaintances ; for, after saluting each other, they commenced consulting in a dialect not known even by our polyglot Italian friend. " Go and bring the rest of this man's caravan here," was the order next given, " and take him with you, but do not let the fellow escape on any account; upon your heads be it." However, in about ten minutes' time the soldiers came back and said that the merchant had escaped, favoured by the darkness. " He has bribed you to let him go, you scoundrels," was our answer, and we all of us hastily dispersed over the desert in search of the slave-dealer and his party. But the night was very dark, and after about an hour's fruitless search, we had to give up the attempt.

THE GOVERNOR OF BERBA.—THE SLAVE-DEALERS RE-CAPTURED.

" Never mind," said Mr. Marcopoli, " the man will never be able to efface the tracks of himself and party, and an Arab guide can distinguish the prints of his own camel from a hundred others. We will make a forced march to-morrow to Berba and ask the Governor to send some soldiers mounted on dromedaries in pursuit. They will overtake the caravan before it arrives at the next wells; and, if the soldiers are not to be bought over by a bribe as our fellows have been, we shall see the whole party brought back to Berba before we leave for Khartoum."

The Governor, who received us very hospitably, could at first hardly be induced to believe Mr. Marcopoli's affirmation that we had passed a slave caravan. " Quite impossible," he said; " such a thing could not happen within the limits of my authority." " But it has happened," vociferated his informant, " and they have already twenty-four hours' start. Send out some soldiers on dromedaries immediately, and tell the officer, if he does not bring the caravan back, that you know the reason why he has not done so—namely, that he has accepted a bribe from the merchants. It is too bad when not only Europeans but hundreds of your own countrymen under Colonel Gordon are sacrificing their lives to put down the slave-trade on the White Nile, that the dealers should, in spite of the Viceroy's rigorous orders, carry on their trade almost under your nose." This remark apparently quite convinced the Governor, who said soldiers should instantly be despatched: and yesterday, to our great satisfaction, we were informed the slaves had all been brought back to Berba.

THE HORRIBLE CONDITION OF THE SLAVES.

We went to see them in the afternoon, and if any one who disbelieves in the cruelties of the slave-trade had been there to judge for himself, he would have been speedily undeceived. Twenty boys, with eighteen women

and girls, some of the tenderest age, many marked with the lash of that fearful instrument, the koorbatch, which had been relentlessly applied by the merchants when the poor worn-out victims flagged in their endeavours to toil over the heavy sand—were living witnesses of the brutalities which had been enacted. Some had their cheeks scarred with the knife to brand them as the property of a particular owner. We were informed by the officer in charge that when the wretched captives found that they were free and their masters prisoners in the hands of the soldiers, some of them, showing their torn feet and flayed sides to the captured rascals, cursed them for all the cruelties they had perpetrated, and could with difficulty, be restrained by the guard from retaliating on their former persecutors. " The retaliation will come soon enough, for all the slave dealers will be shot," said an old Arab captain, in reply to my inquiry as to what punishment awaited them. " The Viceroy's orders are very strict in this particular." I hope that in the instance just mentioned they will not be allowed to remain a dead letter, and the merchants be permitted, after a few weeks' imprisonment, to return to their old vocation with more experience how to evade detection; for it is only by stern repressive measures that this disgrace to humanity can ever be effaced in Egypt. The slaves, it appears, were originally seized near the Bahr Gazelle River and brought to Khartoum. Here they were detained for some time, for a few of them could speak Arabic, and had only recently been bought by the merchants we were fortunate enough to fall in with in exchange for wares brought from Suakin. The slaves would afterwards have been reshipped to Jeddah and Suez, where the lowest price any could have fetched would be about fifty dollars, and some, especially the better-looking of the girls, a great deal more; so the absolute loss to the trader is above £1,000. He and his companions made some resistance to the soldiers on being arrested, but a few shots fired over their heads soon cowed them, and they surrendered. The chief merchant then offered a large sum to the officer in command, if he would allow them to escape; but fortunately the official proved himself capable of resisting the temptation. Whether the slaves will finally be much benefited is another question; for the women will be given as wives to the Egyptian soldiers, and the boys enlisted in the army—such being the fate that invariably awaits all persons taken from traders in human flesh.

HOW SLAVERY CAN DEMORALIZE TEN YEARS OF FREEDOM.

THE GREAT NEED OF THE SOUTH.

WHEN Judge Emmons, of the United States Circuit Court of Tennessee, in his charge to the grand jury, some weeks ago, described a condition under which the whole population of a section sympathised

with murderers, and thus practically annulled all laws forbidding outrages against property and life, we characterised such a state of things as barbarism. We suppose he referred principally to the condition of white men. But this is not all, nor the worst part of the evil in large portions of the South. If the white man is barbarous to a large extent, the black is barbarous to a greater extent, and as yet we can hardly see the beginning of a remedy.

The frightful fact stares us in the face on every side that the great bulk of the negroes in the Gulf States have no education, no religion, no conscience. They have what passes for religion, but no pretence of education or conscience. They have churches in abundance, excited singing and shouting; but no religion in the sense in which we use the word. We mean no abatement of our words. . . . We have in our own land—not on heathen shores, but in these United States—millions of citizens—Protestants we call them—whose character is as little affected by their lacquer of religion as that of the Sicilian bandits, who murder a traveller with a prayer to the Virgin.

Those who are trying to Christianize the negroes of the South see this most clearly, and we most earnestly wish that every Christian in our land could see the evil and the necessity of correcting it. There has just been held in Atlanta, Ga., a convention of the missionaries and teachers working for the American Missionary Association. It was desired to get the opinion of these best informed men as to the true condition and needs of the negroes over the South. There were representatives from nearly every portion of the South except Virginia, where, we are glad to say, the whites are labouring reasonably well for the elevation of their coloured citizens. The labourers came from Tennessee, from South Carolina, from all the Gulf States, to tell what they had seen and what they felt to be the need of the hour. A correspondent writes: "For three nights and two days, of ten hours' session each day, did these missionaries pour forth their knowledge of this great, strange mission field. I could liken it to nothing but a river, deep and broad and foul; with occasional sweet and clear tributaries emptied into it. They were all exhorted to tell the bottom truth of their experience and opinions as to the Southern situation; and hence the turbid stream. Every heart was full and overflowing with the burden of the great work to be done."

The testimony on these topics of such men cannot fail to have great weight. Stated in general terms, and without reference to special plans of work, the following

are some of their opinions: Ten years of freedom has only begun to break through at a few points into the terrible moral and intellectual darkness. Gross darkness and the lowest forms of vice and sin are well nigh universal. While a few, blessed with exotic missionary schools and churches, are rising in morals and general culture, the many, without these helps, taking advantage of the large liberty freedom brought, are going backwards. Especially is this true in the Gulf States. . . . The doctrines of Christianity come to the heathen as something new and fresh, and for this reason have an immense added power to reform the life and reclaim the people. The novelty alone is startling. But among the freedmen we have no such help. The story of the Cross is an old story to them. The Cross and their vices have lived together in their thoughts and hearts for generations, and it is next to impossible to dislodge either. They practise their religion and their vices together, the one about as much as the other. If they had never heard of the wonderful doctrines of the Christian religion, these would be more a power than now to overthrow their inherited vices.

Does this picture, as drawn by the most competent and the most sympathetic of all observers, seem black? It is very black, and were hopeless if we could not believe that the hearts of Christian people at the North will be opened to do vastly more than they now do to plant at the South a Christianity that shall include morality. . . . If our Northern Churches, which are now doing some good work for the negro, began to apprehend the needs of the South, they would not only teach, but preach to the ignorant masses. They would commission their hundreds of labourers all over the South to start in every large town a Church of Christian purity and honesty. . . . Will not our religious papers of various denominations persistently press home upon their readers the crying needs of an emancipated and barbarous race?—*From the "Independent."*

MR. ADOLPHE DE PLEVITZ, THE HERO OF MAURITIUS.

It is not often that the dry pages of blue-books contain the outlines of a brave and heroic struggle for the civil liberty of Indian labourers. We find an exception, however, in the Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the new Labour Law, and the spirit in which it has been administered in Mauritius. The necessity for such an investigation is sufficiently established by the report. We have given

startling illustrations of the injustice inflicted upon the *free* natives—that is to say, upon those who had completed the term of five years, according to contract—in the article on the Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley's paper on the treatment of Indian immigrants in Mauritius. In our remarks we promised to tell the *story* of a self-denying defender and advocate of the oppressed. We now fulfil our promise. Since 1859, Mr. Adolphe De Plevitz, a German, has been a resident in the island, and became the manager of his father-in-law's plantation of 200 acres. For many years he did his duty on the estate of his relative, and trusted that Englishmen would right the grievous wrongs of the Indian. He waited in vain. No strong voice was raised on their behalf. The island influence was too strong on the side of the planters. At length he could endure no longer, and took action by assisting the Indian labourers to draw up a petition entitled "The Petition of the Old Immigrants of Mauritius (presented on the 6th June, 1871) to his Excellency the Hon. Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, K.C.M.G., Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Island of Mauritius and its Dependencies."

A BRAVE BEGINNING.

This was a brave beginning, for well he knew that he would concentrate upon himself the fury and hostility of the planters and their friends. His action might suggest to the Indian labourers that they had rights under English law, as well as any other subjects of the Queen, and might encourage them to assert their claim to such rights. To our English readers this course of procedure was natural and harmless enough. Although forming by far the great majority of the population, they have been always placed at a great disadvantage by their ignorance of the English language, and were in utter ignorance of their very limited rights. Their wrongs were notorious, and, believing in English love of justice, they dared to petition, encouraged by Mr. Plevitz. Against the form and tone of the petition not one word can be said, yet the mere idea of such a course exasperated the planters.

HIS SECOND ACTION BREATHES THE SPIRIT OF TRUE HEROISM,

for he resolved to write a series of remarks on the native petition, confirming and illustrating the complaints of the Indians. In carrying out this resolution he at once assumed the attitude of one who pleads for the oppressed, and boldly attacked the labour laws of Mauritius, and those who administered them, in the most uncompromising manner.

HIS CHARGES.

"He charges" (quoting the Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley's words) "that the agents and recruiters in India obtain labourers by false representations" (Obs. §§ 3, 4, Report.)

"That the so-called 'Protector of Immigrants' is no protector, but rather a help to their oppressors." (§§ 5-8.)

"That, when the labourers have a dispute with their employers, they have no chance of justice; that their wages are fraudulently forfeited and habitually kept in arrear unpaid." (§ 10.)

"That the Creole population, white and coloured, have no regard for truth, and that the magistrates are habitually interested in sugar plantations, and related to planters, or intimate with them." (§§ 11-14.)

"That the new labour law of which he complains, though ostensibly to prevent vagrancy, and for the protection of the Indians, is merely colourable, and intended to drive the old immigrants to re-engage." (§§ 15-18.)

"That by this oppression the Indians are driven in large numbers to commit suicide, and that the mortality among them is appalling." (§§ 19-21.)

"That the late Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, would 'hob-nob with "the planting interest," and do much to acquire the ephemeral popularity of which they, being in force in the Legislative Council, are the dispensers; and that, the object of the new labour law being to render an old immigrant's life so miserable that the vast majority of them would be driven, in despair, to re-engage on the master's own terms.' With this object in view, 'Sir Henry Barkly raised the price of a licence to work as a day-labourer—a licence, be it observed, required only by old immigrants—from 4s. to £1 sterling.' " (§ 17.)

"That when the Hon. Mr. Kerr opposed this labour law on its introduction, 'he was mercilessly ridiculed by the Governor and his colleagues.' " (§ 30.)

"That the planters and magistrates may be the sons of Mauritius slave-holders, and that a careful watch should be kept (in England) over the colony" (§ 38), "and that laws passed in the colony should be therefore the Queen's special discriminating carried out, and no special non-European legislation permitted against British subjects."

EIR ALARM OF THE PLANTERS AND THEIR FRIENDS.

Before the petition of the natives and the observations of Mr. De Plevitz were presented to the Governor, "the planters and the police were much agitated, and all kinds of rumours were circulated, and an attempt was made to show that Mr. de Plevitz was guilty of an offence in getting up the petition." "When it was presented (on June 6th) the Governor promised to refer its charges to a Commission which he had already determined to appoint to in-

vestigate other matters connected with the police force. In the month of September Mr. De Plevitz published the petition, with his observations." And then the storm began to burst upon him. The Europeans became alarmed, imagining an insurrection by the Indians—the fear measuring the consciousness of the bitter wrongs they had so long inflicted upon the natives. The local press denounced Mr. De Plevitz with virulence, one urging personal violence against him; while "loud demands were made that he should be prosecuted for libel." Sir Arthur H. Gordon "refused to permit this; and thereupon a scene took place, which in all its circumstances reminds us of the assault upon Mr. Sumner in the United States Senate-house, and the subsequent conduct of the Southerners in reference to that assault."

MR. DE PLEVITZ IS ASSAULTED BY MR. JULES LAVOQUER, ACCOMPANIED BY A LARGE NUMBER OF ACCOMPLICES.

"On the 19th October, Mr. Jules Lavoquer, belonging to a respectable family in the colony, accompanied by a large number of other persons, met Mr. De Plevitz in Port Louis, and assaulted him, while at the same time Mr. De Plevitz was struck from behind by some person with some instrument, which . . . caused blood to flow."

In reference to the assault the Commissioners state (Report, p. 20, § 50)

"that it was impossible to read the report of the evidence given at the subsequent trial without coming to the conclusion that the assault was the result of a preconcerted plan for the castigation of Mr. De Plevitz, and, in the event of his offering resistance, overpowering him by sheer force of numbers."

MR. DE PLEVITZ TAKEN INTO CUSTODY.

"Mr. De Plevitz, having been thus assaulted, was at once taken into custody by the police, and charged, along with Mr. Lavoquer, with creating a disturbance. It seems that, according to Mauritius law,

'Rixa est ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.'

"On the 21st October, Mr. De Plevitz was again threatened by a violent and tumultuous crowd, and the Governor, on hearing of this second outrage, wrote to the Procureur-Général and learnt that the latter had ordered the police to withdraw the charge against Mr. De Plevitz, and to proceed against Mr. Lavoquer."

SYMPATHY OF PLANTERS WITH MR. LAVOQUER.

The liberation of the bleeding Mr. De Plevitz, and the determination of the Government to prosecute his assailant

"gave great offence to the planter party, and

on the 30th October a petition was presented to the Governor, signed by more than 900 persons, among whom appear many of the most respectable names in the island, expressing their approval of the conduct of Mr. Lavoquer and their disapproval of the conduct of the authorities, and praying the Governor to order the immediate expulsion of Mr. De Plevitz as an alien. The prosecution of Mr. Lavoquer resulted in his condemnation to pay a fine of £25, which was immediately paid by a shilling subscription of his admirers; and the stick with which he had assaulted Mr. De Plevitz was formally presented to him on his leaving the Court, adorned with a complimentary inscription referring to the event." (Report, p. 21, § 56.)

We can easily realise the social martyrdom which this friend of the Indian had to endure from the famous 6th of June. The story reads almost like a repetition of stories told, many years ago, of brutal scenes,—in the West Indies, and in the slave states of America—and the issue in this case is very similar, only less tragic, because, when roused, the English people insist upon the punishment of even influential criminals.

RESULT OF THE INQUIRY.

The Commissioners' report led to much discussion and recrimination in the colony, Mr. Antelme, a planter, who was on it, having dissented from it, and sent in a report of his own; and Mr. Fraser, another commissioner, having left the colony, and subsequently expressed his dissent from the report. However, the majority of the Commissioners reported fully and most unfavourably, both on the police and on the conduct of the authorities generally as reflected on in the De Plevitz petition. In one word, the "grievances" were proved, Mr. De Plevitz was justified in his action, and a ray of hope began to dawn on free labour in Mauritius. But Mr. De Plevitz must needs leave the island, for reasons which our readers will readily realise. By our latest advices we learn that the free Indians, of every condition in Mauritius, were contributing towards a fund, to be presented to their advocate, as a tribute of gratitude for the labour and disinterested service he has rendered to their cause, and as an expression of sympathy with him, in his past suffering, on leaving the island exhausted in strength, and broken in health.

If Mr. De Plevitz lands in England on his return to Europe, he should meet with a warm reception from the advocates of freedom and fair play.

THE FOLLOWING SUMS HAVE BEEN KINDLY PROMISED TOWARDS THE £1,000 INTENDED TO BE RAISED FOR MRS. MILLARD AND FAMILY.

G. W. Alexander ...	£100	0	0
Thomas Harvey ...	25	0	0
Elizabeth and Sarah Forster	20	0	0
Anti-Slavery Society ...	50	0	0
A. Friend, per T. H. ...	5	0	0
William Brewin ...	10	0	0
Mrs. C. Pease ...	10	0	0
James Thompson ...	25	0	0
J. E. Wilson ...	25	0	0
Edward Pease ...	50	0	0
George Sturge ...	50	0	0
Joseph Cooper ...	15	0	0
Stafford Allen ...	10	0	0
Richard Allen ...	10	0	0
John Jowitt ...	20	0	0
Arthur Pease ...	50	0	0
Arthur Albright ...	50	0	0
Sarah Gibbons ...	25	0	0
W. Middlemore ...	5	0	0
G. S. Gibson ...	20	0	0
A. Friend, York ...	5	0	0
Joseph and John Town, Leeds ...	10	0	0
Eliza and E. M. Jowitt ...	10	0	0
Friends, per C. Alsop, Maldon ...	2	0	0
	2	12	6
John Horniman ...	20	0	0
C. Marriage ...	2	0	0
E. O. Tregelles ...	5	0	0
J. G. Barclay ...	50	0	0
Joseph Tritton ...	52	10	0
Samuel Cropper ...	15	0	0
William Ball ...	10	0	0
M. A. and H. Hewitson ...	10	0	0
G. W. Palmer ...	20	0	0
G. T. Kemp ...	25	0	0
J. W. Pease, M.P. ...	10	0	0
Richenda Barclay ...	5	0	0
A. Friend, Leominster ...	10	0	0
Henry Newman ...	2	0	0
Robert Brewin ...	2	0	0
John Cunliffe ...	50	0	0
A. Rosling ...	1	0	0
Rachel T. Burster ...	5	0	0
Thomas Wilson ...	2	2	0
Jos. Freeman ...	1	1	0
Frederick Wheeler ...	5	0	0
J. Whiting ...	5	0	0
Horace and Mrs. Waller ...	5	0	0
Theodore Fry ...	10	0	0

£927 5 6

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Alexander, S. A., Reigate ... „	1 1 0
Allen, W. ... (3 yrs.) „	5 0 0
Alsop, R., Stoke Newington „	1 0 0
Armstrong, L. B., Liverpool „	1 0 0
Backhouse, E., Sunderland (don.)	25 0 0
Backhouse, J., Reigate ... (sub.)	1 0 0
Barclay, J. G., London ... (don.)	150 0 0
Bassett, J. D., Leighton Buzzard „	12 10 0
Bevan, R. L. C., London ... „	6 5 0
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Harvey, Thomas, Leeds ... (don.)	21 0 0
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Hodgkin, John, by T. Hodgkin (don.)	5 0 0
Jones, Rev. T., Broxley ... (sub.)	0 10 0
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Morley, S., M.P. ... „	25 0 0
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Palmer, Capt. N. N., Blackheath	1 0 0
Pease, Mrs. Gurney, Darlington (don.)	25 0 0
Pease, H., Darlington ... „	25 0 0
Pease, H. F., do. ... „	25 0 0
Pease, J. and J. W., do. ...	187 10 0
Pease, T., Bristol ... (sub.)	1 1 0
Price, J. T. (dec.) ... (legacy)	178 0 0
Proctor, J. R., South Shields	1 0 0
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Rosling, S., Reading (sub. 2 yrs.)	2 2 0
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(sub.)	1 0 0
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